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ABSTRACT

Theories and selected research on stereotyping and cognitive automaticity are presented as a resource base for multicultural counselor educators. Three multicultural competencies are identified: (1) personal beliefs/attitudes; (2) cultural knowledge; and (3) multicultural skills. The objective is to make self-awareness of covert prejudicial attitudes and beliefs easier to acknowledge by establishing that perceptual biases involving racial categories are normative and apply to almost everyone. Multicultural trainers can use existing scientific evidence indicating that perceptual processes that take place outside of conscious awareness give rise to biased perceptions involving racial or ethnic categories. A brief experiential component is presented that specifies a series of exercises designed to elicit awareness of biases in personal attitudes and beliefs toward culturally diverse groups. The training approach may be of special interest to multicultural counseling instructors looking for a way to address the needs of students who become defensive or resistant to course material. (Contains 1 figure and 103 references.) (JDM)

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Running Head: RESOURCE FOR MULTICULTURAL TRAINERS

Theory and Research on Stereotypes and Perceptual Bias: A Didactic Resource for Multicultural Counseling Trainers

Poster session at the APA Conference in Washington, D.C.

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Abstract

This article presents theory and selected research on stereotyping and cognitive automaticity as a didactic resource base for multicultural counselor educators. Multicultural trainers can use this information to establish the existing scientific evidence indicating that perceptual processes taking place outside of conscious awareness give rise to biased perceptions involving racial or ethnic categories. The objective of this didactic resource is to impress upon counseling trainees the importance of coming to terms with racial prejudice and biases often hidden from conscious scrutiny. In addition to the didactic material, several experiential exercises designed to elicit awareness of biases in personal attitudes and beliefs toward culturally diverse groups are presented. Suggestions for future research also are included.

Theory and Research on Stereotypes and Perceptual Bias:

A Didactic Resource for Multicultural Counseling Trainers

It has been over 15 years since the American Psychological Association (APA) Division 17 position paper (Sue et al., 1982) that defined specific cross-cultural counseling competencies appeared in this journal. This turned out to be a very influential paper, as its guidelines were incorporated into the APA Accreditation Handbook (APA, 1986), the Guidelines for Providers of Psychological Services to Ethnic, Linguistic, and Culturally Diverse Populations (Task Force, 1993), and in Principles A and D of APA's Ethics Code (APA, 1992). In addition, numerous models of training that promote cultural sensitivity in counseling practices have been proposed (Arredondo et al., 1996; Brown, Parham, & Yonker, 1996; Das, 1995; Corvin & Wiggins, 1989; LaFromboise & Foster, 1992; Lopez et al., 1989; Parker, 1998; Ponterotto, 1988; Ridley, Mendoza, & Kanitz, 1994) and continue to permeate the counseling literature (Bieschke, Eberz, Bard, & Croteau, 1998; Fischer, Jome, & Atkinson, 1998; Kiselica, 1998).

Sue et al. (1982) identified three general competencies that characterize a culturally skilled counseling psychologist: (a) awareness of personal beliefs/attitudes toward culturally diverse clients; (b) knowledge about diverse cultures; and (c) ability to use intervention skills or techniques that are culturally responsive (see also Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). Among the counselor training approaches cited above, Arredondo et al.'s (1996) contribution is perhaps the one most closely associated with Sue et al., representing an operationalization of the three multicultural competencies with suggested training strategies to achieve them.

Arredondo et al. (1996) lay out quite clearly the training implications for the "knowledge" and "skills" competencies. The operationalizations of a competent counselor in the cultural knowledge area, for example, include "can discuss recent research addressing issues of racism, White identity development, antiracism, and so forth" (p. 60) and "can describe at least two different models of minority identity development and their implications for counseling" (p. 64). Competent counselors in the area of technical skills "can give examples of how they may modify a technique or intervention or when alternative intervention they may use to more effectively meet the needs of a client" (p. 71), and "can describe concrete examples of situations in which it is appropriate and possibly necessary for a counselor to exercise institutional intervention skills on behalf of a client" (p. 71). Importantly, by way of defining the competencies of "knowledge" and "skills," Arredondo et al.'s operationalizations suggest the training needed to attain them. For example, coursework readings or presentations on racial/gender/ sexual identity development, acculturation theory, and sociopolitical histories of minority groups that emphasize the impact of oppression on self-concept are all likely catalysts to the attainment of the "knowledge" competency. Likewise, the teaching of counseling techniques particularly well suited for work with specific cultural groups can be expected to help counseling students improve their multicultural "skills."

The process that leads to competency in "attitudes/beliefs," however, is not well developed and, consequently, it is more problematic from a training perspective. Consider Arredondo et al.'s (1996) operationalizations: "[culturally competent counselors in attitudes/beliefs] can identify social and cultural influences on their cognitive development and current information processing style" (p. 60), and "can recognize their

stereotyped reactions to people different from themselves... consciously attend to examples that contradict stereotypes... [and] give specific examples of how their stereotypes... can affect the counselor-client relationship" (p. 63). Notice that these operationalizations do not clearly suggest the content of training needed to help counseling students achieve this competency. Indeed, what educational experiences could be developed to promote the type of counselor self-awareness that precede changes in personal attitudes and beliefs toward clients who differ from the counselor ethnically and/or culturally?

Perhaps due to a lack of didactic materials, educational approaches designed to promote awareness of racism and other biases in counseling trainees typically rely on experiential exercises and activities. Corvin and Wiggins' (1989) Antiracism Training Model for White Professionals, for example, is comprised of a sequence of experiential activities designed for each one of four White racial identity stages of development. Activities are structured around group discussions to prompt participants to start thinking of themselves as racial beings. Suggested questions for discussion include "What ideas were you encouraged to believe about people of your own racial group?" and "How were you taught to interact with people of other racial groups?" Other activities involve brainstorm sessions to generate and discuss racial stereotypes ascribed to minority groups as well as identification of action strategies to confront racism on a personal, institutional, and cultural level.

Another example of a multicultural educational approach is described by Brown et al. (1996), who divided their training course into three phases: (1) personal beliefs/self-awareness, (2) knowledge of five ethnocultural populations, and (3) development of

preliminary skills to counsel diverse clients. Phase 1, which bears the most import to the present paper, was entirely comprised of experiential activities, including participation in a mock version of Jane Elliott's blue-eyed brown-eyed experience[1], actual interviews with individuals racially or ethnically different from the interviewer (e.g., a White student interviewing a Latino classmate), and other such experiences to promote group bonding and raise consciousness of personal biases. Phase 2 calls for guest speakers representing each of five ethnocultural groups to present material on issues, history, and dynamics of the guests' racial-ethnic heritage. Phase 3 involves skills training, such as identification and interpretation of verbal and nonverbal communication. Though Brown et al. acknowledge the importance of "emphasizing self awareness [phase 1] as a preliminary step to knowledge acquisition and skill development," (p. 515) no provisions were made to address any resistance from trainees to participate in a personally meaningful fashion, a situation very likely to occur during this phase of multicultural training.

Resistance to multicultural training is not uncommon. In describing personal experiences teaching a cross-cultural counseling course, Ponterotto (1988) classified trainee reactions to his course along a "zealot-defensive" continuum, wherein some become very zealous and involved in fostering a pro-minority perspective, while at the other end of the spectrum, some become withdrawn and passive recipients of class activities. Ten years later, trainees enrolled in an APA-approved department of counseling psychology (Steward, Morales, Bartell, Miller, & Weeks, 1998) were asked to indicate if their overall reaction to diversity-related content addressed in departmental courses was either positive or negative; one third (33.3%) indicated having a negative experience, and that their exposure to multicultural literature was meaningless and

unnecessary. One likely source of apathy among some multicultural counseling trainees is that meaningful personal changes in attitudes and beliefs toward culturally or ethnically different people requires self-discovery and acknowledgment of socially undesirable characteristics—such as bias or prejudice—that are in turn likely to inhibit self-learning. Because of the inherent difficulties in acknowledging biases and prejudice at a personal level, an experiential approach capitalizing on affect may activate a defensive rather than an open frame of mind, inhibiting rather than promoting personal learning.

Tomlinson-Clarke (1999) and Ota-Wang and Briggs (1997) have suggested that multicultural training may be more effective when experiential/affective training is preceded by didactic/cognitive instruction. In their discussion of racial-cultural training for the development of counselor multicultural competencies, Tomlinson-Clarke and Ota Wang (1999) assert that "discussions of race and racism often results in the 'conspiracy of silence about racism'... Emotionally powerful feelings, potentially explosive situations, and feelings of guilt from members of racial groups who have intentionally or unintentionally benefited from who they are (e.g., White priviledge) have often fueled this conspiracy of silence" (p. 160). Their premise of a didactic component preceding experiential activities is intuitively appealing, as beginning multicultural training with didactic instruction would be expected to reduce preliminary nervousness and defensiveness among counseling trainees, facilitating emotional readiness for affective exercises, as well as other multicultural teaching.

A recent qualitative study that examined the outcomes of a multicultural training course provides preliminary empirical support to this premise. Tomlinson-Clarke (1999) directed counseling psychology students to complete written evaluations immediately

upon completing a multicultural training course, then again at a 4-month follow-up. Among her many findings, Tomlinson-Clarke reported that didactic, cognitively-based aspects of training apparently helped students feel more comfortable with, and eager to learn, other training components. She concluded that "the recognition of the need for further cultural self-awareness and self-knowledge is critical in viewing multicultural competence as a process in which professionals and trainees continue to challenge deeply embedded cultural assumptions and increase understanding of oneself as a racial-cultural being" (p. 16).

Counseling students may resist multicultural training for a variety of reasons. For example, from a White Racial Identity Development perspective (WRID; Sabani, Ponterotto, & Borodovski, 1991), inhibited multicultural learning may be especially relevant to trainees in pre-exposure/pre-contact and conflict stages of development who may be opposed to, or experience distress from, self-discovery of racism and prejudice. Briefly, the WRID's stages and related themes are:

Pre-exposure/Precontact. Lack of contact with racial diversity; lack of awareness of self as a racial being and the presence of racism in society.

Conflict. Interaction with members of minority groups leads to awareness of prejudicial attitudes toward racial minorities. An awareness of conflict develops between wanting to conform to White norms while upholding humanitarian values.

Prominority/Antiracism. Identification with minority concerns coupled with anger toward White status quo.

Retreat into White Culture. Retreat into familiarity of White culture as a way to deal with perceived rejection from minority community.

Redefinition and Integration. Development of a racial identity which includes a sense of Whiteness as well as personal commitment to a culturally transcendent worldview.

Purpose and Overview

The primary purpose of this article is to introduce theory and selected research on stereotyping and cognitive automaticity as a didactic resource base for multicultural trainers. The objective of this approach is to make self-awareness of covert prejudicial attitudes and beliefs easier to acknowledge, by establishing, scientifically, that perceptual biases that involve racial categories are normative and apply to most everyone (Devine, 1989; Fiske, 1998). Intended specifically to facilitate the "attitudes/beliefs" multicultural counseling competency, this article is by no means a comprehensive multicultural training package, although it can nicely supplement existing curricula of trainers teaching a multicultural counseling course, or of instructors who otherwise infuse their courses with a multicultural component. In addition to a didactic resource component—which immediately follows and is the mainstay of this paper—a brief experiential component is also presented that specifies a series of exercises designed to elicit awareness of biases in personal attitudes and beliefs toward culturally diverse groups. Sections articulating implications for practice and research are also included.

Didactic Component

The goal of this component is to establish the scientific evidence indicating the "unconscious" nature of perceptual biases involving racial or ethnic categories. Trainers can use this information to enhance their existing training curriculum covering the area of counselor attitudes and beliefs toward minority clients. This didactic resource is

organized under six sections. In the first section, labels such as "biased," "prejudiced," and "racist" are briefly introduced as concepts that are more accurately conceptualized as continua, rather than dichotomies. The second section defines the nature of stereotypes and how they function to produce biased perceptions. The third section reviews a series of studies that examine the role of "automatic" processes in perception. The fourth section presents research evidence clearly showing how stereotypes work outside of conscious awareness to promote racial bias. The fifth section reviews the clinical and analogue literature on differential treatment of ethnic minority clients and the influence of stereotypes on counselor perceptual processes. The sixth and final section introduces a line of research that has begun to examine more closely the dynamics of how stereotypes change, as well as the conditions under which automatic processes operate.

Bias, Prejudice, and Racism as Continua

Webster's (1990) defines bias as "a temperamental or emotional leaning to one side"; prejudice as "a preconceived opinion, usually unfavorable"; and racism, as "the assumption that characteristics of an individual are determined by race." As labels, these words are often used as dichotomous constructs, rather than continua; that is, a person is perceived as either biased/prejudiced/racist or not. A person is often categorized as "racially biased" or "prejudiced," for example, if he or she displays racially prejudicial sentiments in public, conjuring up images of individuals like the once-popular TV character "Archie Bunker," or of organized groups such as the Klu Klux Klan. One problem with this type of dichotomous thinking is the implied assumption that anyone not engaged in extreme forms of prejudicial behavior is not prejudiced (or racist, or biased).

Yet far from suggesting clear-cut dichotomies, theories of racial prejudice suggests that in reality, prejudice, bias and racism are more like continua, affecting—in varying degrees—most everyone (Devine, 1989; Fiske, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConohay, 1986). For example, "aversive racism" theory (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) holds that most people embrace egalitarian values toward racial diversity while still harboring negative feelings about minority groups. As a coping mechanism for this ambivalence, negative feelings are repressed, surfacing only in subtle or covert ways. Likewise, McConohay's (1986) theory of "modern racism" posits that people are generally unaware of their prejudices, but rather than repressing their negative affect toward minority groups, they rationalize it: "Minorities get more breaks than they deserve," or "Minorities are getting too demanding in their push for civil rights." Katz's (1981) racial prejudice model, on the other hand, stipulates that people are generally cognizant of their prejudicial attitudes or beliefs. Commitment to values of equality, however, leads to internal "ambivalence," characterized by the presence of both positive (sympathy) and negative (contempt) feelings. The result is behavioral instability, with positive and negative responses toward minority individuals depending on the situation.

Research evidence indicating an "unconscious" component to racial biases and prejudice (e.g., Devine, 1989; Greenwald, Banaji, Nosek, & Bhaskar, 1998; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) is generally consistent with theoretical models of prejudice. Devine (1989), for example, found that participants identifying themselves as being "high-prejudice" or "low-prejudice" were equally prone to perceptual biases mediated by racial stereotypes. According to Devine, the reason for this is that personal attitudes and beliefs toward racial and ethnic diversity involve cognitive structures (schemas and

stereotypes) and processes (automaticity) that pervasively and effectively filter and shape human social reality, including those realities connected to racial or ethnic group categories.

Instructor/trainee resources. The purpose of this brief introduction is to highlight the importance and relevance of the material that follows, especially for students that feel reasonably "prejudice free." Instructors may find it helpful to assign the McConohay (1986) chapter as a required or suggested reading.

The Functions of Cognitive Schemas and Stereotypes

Stereotypes are special types of cognitive structures involved in categorizing individuals or social targets. Lippman (1921) defined stereotypes as oversimplified generalizations about groups or categories of people. These generalizations have also been identified as schemas (Taylor & Crocker, 1981), prototypes (Brewer, Dull, & Liu, 1981), and expectancies (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990). Though differences exist among these constructs, they all define stereotypes as organized cognitive abstractions within which incoming information can be stored and represented in memory. These structures develop via first hand experience with members of the group that is stereotyped, or from information made available through family, friends, and the media. When an individual is categorized as a member of a particular social group, the group-relevant cognitive structure or stereotype is activated, and subsequent information relative to this person is processed within the framework of that particular stereotype. Activation of a stereotype can influence what aspects of the available information are attended to (information that fits stereotypic expectations is more likely to enter into the

information processing system), how that information is interpreted and encoded, and what information will be available for later retrieval.

Another defining feature of stereotypes is that they lack flexibility. One would think that information contradicting a stereotypic belief or expectancy might lead the perceiver to question the validity of that belief. Although this is theoretically feasible (Rothbart, 1981), some researchers feel that instead of a drastic change in beliefs, the perceiver's conception of the stereotyped group becomes subtyped, with one subtype maintaining the existing stereotype, and another subtype representing the disconfirming instances (Crocker, Fiske, & Taylor, 1984; Hamilton, 1981). Preservation of stereotypes is also inherent to the way people in general go about testing their social reality. Confirmation of an initial (stereotypical) assessment of any one individual is often accomplished by asking questions where the overall likelihood of a "yes," confirming the initial hypothesis, is high. This propensity for hypothesis-confirmatory strategies serves as a basis for the maintenance of stereotypic beliefs (Klayman, & Ha, 1987; Skov & Sherman, 1986).

A more recent model of stereotyping is based on retrieval mechanisms sensitive to social cues (Smith & Zarate, 1990; 1992; Zarate & Smith, 1990), rather than cognitive, category-based abstractions. According to this model, a social target activates a large variety of exemplars stored in memory that do not necessarily belong to the same category. The attributes of these exemplars are then summarized to form inferences or judgments about the target. For example, undergraduates attending a class lecture for the first time may form their impressions of a bearded, Black male history professor by activating in memory relevant exemplars, including Black males, male professors, history

professors, bearded men, and so on. When this occurs, no racial stereotyping is said to take place, as perceptions are likely to be multidimensional. Stereotyping occurs, however, when the exemplars activated are members of the same social category, such as race. Staying with the example, when inferences about a Black male professor are based on activated exemplars of Black males but exclude other non-racial dimensions (such as age, profession, the presence of facial hair, etc.), then the professor is likely to be perceived as stereotypically Black.

Zarate and Smith (1990) acknowledge that while there are many ways to categorize an individual, all equally correct, the determinants of which classifications are used (i.e., skin color, sex, age, etc.) and when are largely unknown. Smith and Zarate (1992) go on to speculate that stimulus characteristics and cultural default values are likely to modulate a perceiver's allocation of attention to specific stimulus attributes. For example, in Western culture, male sex, white race, non-disabled physical status, heterosexual orientation, and young age are treated as cultural expectations, assumed to characterize a person if no dimension-relevant information is explicitly provided (Eagly & Kite, 1987). A departure from the expected attribute value will be likely to attract attention and be the basis for categorizing the target.

Kunda and Thagard's (1996) parallel-constraint-satisfaction theory is yet another approach explicating the effects of stereotyping on impression formation. This theory assumes that stereotypes, traits, and observed behaviors are interconnected nodes in a spreading cognitive activation network. The spread of activation between nodes is constrained by positive and negative associations. Figure 1 portrays a schematic illustration of the activation network that explains why the behavior of a person observed

"elbowing another" may be interpreted as a "jovial shove" when performed by a White person, but a "violent push" when performed by a Black person (see Duncan, 1976; Sagar & Shofield, 1980). In this illustration, the trait (node) aggressive has a positive excitatory connection with violent push, and a negative, inhibitory connection with jovial push. When the observed target is White, aggressive is activated only once. When the target is Black, the aggressive node is activated twice, due to the stereotypical view of Blacks as being aggressive. Thus violent push ends up with more activation when the stimulus target is Black rather than White, indicating how stereotypes can constrain the meaning of observed behavior.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Instructor/trainee resources. The information covered in this section is intended to help counseling trainees understand the nature of stereotypes, i.e., what they are and how they filter social reality. In describing the various formulations of stereotypes since Lippman (1921) first coined the term, students are expected to gain an appreciation for the longstanding and continued scientific interest on this topic, as well as for the vast amount of information substantiating this body of knowledge. The following recommendations are made as helpful instructor resources for lecture, or possible reading assignments for trainees. Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, and Reynolds (1998) review the relevant research on processes that contribute to consensual stereotypes of both outgroups and ingroups. Hamilton and Sherman (1994) and Hamilton and Trolier (1986) provide reviews of research on the mental representations of stereotypes.

Automaticity in Perceptual Bias

The processes involved in social perceptions are often "automatic," occurring outside of conscious awareness. More specifically, automatic processes involve the unintentional and spontaneous activation of some well-learned category of associations, such as schemas or stereotypes that have been developed through repeated activation in memory. These processes do not require conscious effort and appear to be initiated or "primed" by the presence of category-related stimulus cues in the environment (Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977; Higgins & King, 1981; Shiffrin & Dumais, 1981; Srull & Wyer, 1980).

Automaticity in perceptual bias is clearly demonstrated in the (now classic) priming study reported by Bargh and Pietromonaco (1982). These researchers developed a strategy to activate information processing along a categorical dimension using passive priming, that is, activation of a cognitive category that takes place outside of conscious awareness. In a task described to the subjects as a "perceptual vigilance task," they presented their study participants with very brief word flashes (100 milliseconds each) via a computer screen monitor. This procedure precluded conscious processing of the words presented. Either 0%, 20%, or 80% of these words were semantically related to hostility. In an ostensibly unrelated second task, subjects read a description of a stimulus person involved in ambiguously hostile behavior, and were then asked to rate this person (or target) on several hostility-related dimensions. Their hostility ratings were reliably and positively related to the proportion of hostility words to which they were exposed, indicating the priming, though passive or unconscious, effectively biased participant perceptions of the stimulus target.

A more recent line of priming research indicates that automatically activated stereotypes, aside from promoting biases in perceptions, also appear to have an effect on behavior (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996). Bargh et al. used words associated with the construct of rude or polite to prime, respectively, two groups of research participants. Results indicated that participants in the rude priming condition interrupted the experimenter more quickly and frequently than did participants in the polite priming condition. In a second experiment, participants for whom an elderly stereotype was primed walked more slowly down the hallway when leaving the experiment than did control participants. These findings point to the possibility that people may (unintentionally) elicit the very type of behavior expected of stereotyped social targets, but being unaware of these contingencies, the target's behavior may be interpreted as a confirmation of the stereotype—a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Instructor/trainee resources. The information in this—as well as the next—section bears the most relevance to one of the most important objectives of this entire didactic component. That is, recognition of the insidious nature of stereotyping, and the personal relevance of a process that often operates outside of conscious awareness. To promote personal integration of the material, instructors may want to probe students with questions such as: How does it feel to think that your perceptions can be influenced passively or unconsciously by environmental stimuli? What about the notion that your own behavior may elicit the confirmation of stereotypes, a dynamic operating outside of your awareness? For suggested readings, consider Bargh (1994) and Wegner and Bargh (1996); both provide excellent reviews on the role of automaticity in attitudes and social cognition.

Automaticity in Racial Bias

Automatic processes leading to perceptual biases are not only evident with attribute-level cognitive schemas (i.e., "rude," "polite"). Automaticity has also been shown to operate with group-level information. For example, instead of using hostility-related prime words—as did Bargh and Pietromonaco (1982)—Devine (1989) used stereotypical descriptors ascribed to African Americans (e.g., Harlem, basketball, rhythm) as the primes. Either 20% or 80% of words flashed tachistoscopically were primes (non-prime words used were "water", "tree," etc.), representing the two independent conditions of a design otherwise identical to Bargh and Pietromonaco's (described previously). Following the priming procedure, participants read a description of a target person of undisclosed ethnicity engaged in hostile behavior; they then rated this individual on several dimensions. Results indicated that participants made stereotype-congruent (negative) evaluations of the stimulus target, with ratings of hostility more extreme in the 80% condition than in the 20% condition. Devine concluded that hostility must be linked categorically to Blacks, since the priming included no words semantically related to hostility. She reasoned the obtained effect was mediated by the stereotyped or biased perception that African Americans are hostile (Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986). Results reported in studies similar to Devine's have been consistent in indicating that automaticity is a well-established phenomenon in social perceptions that involve racial categories (Greenwald et al., 1998; Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

The last in a series of experiments reported in Bargh et al. (1996)—which essentially replicated and extended Devine's (1989) findings—documented evidence

indicating that racial stereotypes may affect behavior as well as perceptions. Rather than using prime words associated with Black stereotypes as did Devine (1989), Bargh et al. utilized black and white photographs of African American or Caucasian faces as the two priming conditions, with the pictures flashed subliminally in a computer monitor screen. While the pictures were being flashed, participants were involved in a lengthy and tedious bogus task. At the end of the task, the experimenter then came back into the room announcing: "I'm sorry, the computer failed to save your data; you'll have to do the experiment over again." The critical dependent measures were the participants' videotaped reactions to this information. Two coders who were blind to the experimental conditions and hypotheses rated all the videotaped facial expressions on a 5-point scale of hostility (ranging from not at all hostile to extremely hostile). Results indicated that participants primed subliminally with the African American faces reacted with more hostility to the vexation manipulation than did their counterparts primed with Caucasian faces. Thus automatic activation of stereotypes is not only likely to promote biased perceptions as shown by Devine (1989), but may also affect perceiver behaviors in ways that elicit the expected responses from targets or members of stereotyped groups, an insidious behavioral contingency likely to perpetuate stereotypes by way of self-fulfilling prophesy.

Instructor/trainee resources. This is an extremely important section to help students realize how they may be racially biased or prejudiced in covert ways, without really being aware of it. It may be useful to integrate this information to the "bias as a continuum" concept presented in the introductory section. This may be done by asking probing questions such as: What does it mean for you to be biased by racial stereotypes?

If this bias takes place outside of your awareness, could you argue that you are not really being racially biased? Prejudiced? Racist? Devine (1989) and Bargh et al. (1996) are essential readings for this section, as they provide very convincing empirical evidence of the unconscious nature of racial biases in social perceptions. Greenwald et al. (1998) also present, very convincingly, the prevalence of covert biases involving social categories.

Stereotypes and Counselor Bias

Automatic, unconscious processes in social perceptions may explain the psychotherapist bias in diagnosis and treatment of racial minorities documented in the clinical literature (e.g., Balch & Balch, 1975; Baskin, Bluestone, & Nelson, 1981a; 1981b; Cole, & Pilisuk, 1976; Jones, 1982; Lloyd & Moodley, 1992; Paradis, Hatch, & Friedman, 1994; Snowden & Cheung, 1990). Baskin et al. (1981a), for example, found that White and Asian clinicians diagnosed higher levels of pathologies in Black clients than did Black or Hispanic clinicians, and in their second study (Baskin et al., 1981b), the authors reported that Black women were diagnosed more often as psychotic and less often as depressed than women of other races. Jones reported that White therapists gave more severe diagnoses to Black clients than White clients. Snowden and Cheung, and later Paradis et al., reported that African Americans were more likely than Whites to be diagnosed with a psychotic disorder than an affective disorder. In reference to this literature, Adebimpe (1994) wrote: "the evidence of different treatment experiences can no longer be regarded as 'scanty, piecemeal, and inconclusive' or as an artifact of a transient period of heightened research interest in blacks" (p. 30).

It is worth noting that clinical studies do not always show evidence of racial bias in diagnostic practices. For example, Bishop and Richards (1987), and later Tomlinson-

Clark, and Camilli (1995) both used counseling center data (instead of hospital records) to look for racial bias, but they found no evidence indicating overpathologizing of Black clients by participating counselors. Also, in his insightful analysis of clinical diagnosis, Lopez (1989) argues that racial bias in diagnosis can occur in opposite directions. For example, overpathologizing a Black client may occur when symptoms of persecution are automatically interpreted as a sign of paranoid delusions, rather than an appropriate response to a hostile, racist environment. On the flip side, when these same symptoms are automatically assumed to be the result of a racist environment, underpatholgizing may occur.

While clinical studies have consistently reported negative biases toward minority (particularly, Black) clients in terms of diagnosis and treatment assignment, analogue studies generally find no bias among participating counselors (e.g., Abramowitz & Murray, 1983; Littlewood, 1992), or even a "pro-Black" bias (e.g., Merluzzi & Merluzzi, 1978; Strickland, Jenkings, Myers, & Adams, 1988). For these studies, clinical materials such as audiotaped interviews or case summaries are presented to clinicians who are then asked to provide clinical ratings on clients identified as either Black in one condition, or White in the other. For example, Strickland et al. presented clinical psychology trainees bogus clinical profiles, with patient race (manipulated) as the independent variable of interest; they were then asked to rate patient level of psychopathology. Strickland et al. reported that patients portrayed as white neurotics and psychotics were given higher ratings of severity than black neurotics and psychotics, while black normals were rated more "normal" than white clients. Some writers attribute this type of pro-Black bias in analogue research to social desirability response sets occurring when client race is a

transparent variable of interest, and research participants likely "discern the true objectives of the study and adjust their responses so as to put themselves and their profession in a favorable light" (Abramowitz & Murray, 1983, p. 218). In contrast, participants in studies based on actual clinical data (e.g., Adebimpe, 1994) are generally not aware that their clinical judgments are part of an investigation.

When analogue studies involving client race are designed to circumvent or minimize social desirability responses, counselor responses generally manifest biased perceptions. For example, in a study by Casas, Wampold, and Atkinson (1981) Anglo and ethnic minority counselor trainees were asked to make judgments of hypothetical student targets based on the recall of information previously presented to them relating to ethnicity, blood type, and stereotypic characteristics (an illusory correlation design). Casas et al. found that, when recalling information about minority targets, Anglo-American trainees made fewer errors on those items for which a stereotypic response was correct than on those items for which the stereotypic response was incorrect, indicating they were more prone to be influenced by ethnic stereotypes compared to other trainees (see also Wampold, Casas, & Atkinson, 1982).

A recent study (Abreu, 1999) utilizing priming procedures modeled after the Bargh and Pietromonaco (1982) and Devine (1989) investigations described earlier has added further strength to the hypothesis that counselor racial bias is associated with cognitive processes involving stereotypes. In this study, counselors randomly assigned to one of two priming conditions were primed with African American stereotypes and category labels (e.g., ghetto, basketball, Black; the experimental condition) or neutral words (e.g., water, television, things; the control condition) using 80-millisecond flash-

words via a computer screen. This procedure activates information processing outside of conscious awareness. After this task, participants were exposed to a brief vignette introducing "Mr. X," a client referred for treatment, and were then asked to rate Mr. X on various dimensions. Participants primed with stereotype words rated Mr. X more negatively (e.g., hostile, unfriendly, dislikable) than did participants in the neutral priming condition when items rated were related to hostility. The pattern of ratings on hostility-unrelated attributes (e.g., boring, conceited, narrow-minded), however, was reversed: more favorable ratings obtained among participants in the experimental group compared to the control group. Abreu concluded that "hostility" must be related to African Americans via a broad category such as "emotional expressiveness," and that stereotype biases do not necessarily lead to perceptions that have a negative valence.

Instructor/trainee resources. The purpose of this section is to highlight the relevance of the previous sections to counseling process. It is important for counseling students to recognize the need to be open to multicultural training, especially in the area of self-awareness of covert racial attitudes and beliefs. Instructors may want to emphasize the notion that unconscious racial biases undermine a counselor's effectiveness with his or her minority clients, and that acknowledging the presence of these biases is a crucial first step to becoming a more culturally sensitive counselor. Possible reading assignments for this section include analogue research reports indicating ethnic or racial biases among counselors (Abreu, 1999; Atkinson, et al., 1981; Wampold et al., 1982), and clinical evidence of diagnostic biases involving client race (Snowden & Cheung, 1990; Paradis et al., 1994).

Research on Stereotype Change

The research reviewed up to this point supports the idea that stereotypes and automatic processes give rise to biases in social perceptions, a rather disturbing set of findings. Yet, there is reason to be optimistic. A recent line of research has begun to examine more closely the dynamics of how stereotypes change (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998; Rothbart, 1996; Stewart, Doan, Gingrich, & Smith, 1998), as well as the conditions under which automatic processes operate (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, Thorn, & Castelli, 1997; Wittenbrink et al., 1997). For example, in testing the hypothesis that favorable experiences with individual members of a disliked group can generalize to the group as a whole, Rothbart (1996) found that the ability of a group stereotype to remain uninfluenced by experiences with individual members depends on the magnitude of discrepancy between category and social target. More specifically, when discrepancy between a racial stereotype and social experiences with an individual member of a stereotyped group were large, the general stereotype was likely to remain insulated from the experience. This may be so because the target may be "subtyped" as not being a "typical" representative of his or her group. However, when the discrepancy between stereotype and individual was modest in size, Rothbart concluded, "there is reason to be optimistic that the stereotype will move slowly, but inexorably, in the direction of reality" (p. 230).

Social psychologists are also beginning to develop research instruments and strategies to study how level of racial prejudice interfaces with social impression formation, egalitarian motivation, and behaviors (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998; Stewart et al., 1998). Stewart et al., for example, found that low-prejudice Whites

formed individuated representations when judging an African American actor on stereotypic behavior, whereas high-prejudice Whites formed representations consisting primarily of aspects of the actors' identity indicative of their ethnic category. The authors concluded that their findings support the notion that resistance to stereotype changes is associated with level of prejudice.

Another line of research findings and theoretical speculation has focused on the possibility that stereotype activation is "conditionally" rather than "unconditionally" automatic (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Macrae et al., 1997; Wittenbrink et al., 1997). Blair and Banaji, for example, demonstrated that automatic activation of gender stereotypes was conditional on participant (manipulated) expectations about the experimental task. Facilitative priming effects (shorter reaction times) were obtained when participants expected stereotype-congruent stimuli; however, participants led to expect stereotype-incongruent stimuli showed no evidence of priming facilitation, even though they were exposed to the same stimuli as the previous group. These results led Blair and Banaji to speculate that stereotypic cues need not always result in a stereotypic response, implying that the automatic impact of stereotypes on perceptions may be brought under conscious control by perceivers willing to develop self-awareness of their own expectations.

Although more research is needed to shed light on specific strategies to combat the unwanted influence of stereotypes, what we do know up to this point highlights the need to repeatedly scrutinize how our perceptual system may function to bias perceptions and attitudes toward others. Devine (1989) argues that "inhibiting stereotype-congruent or prejudice-like responses and intentionally replacing them with nonprejudiced responses can be likened to the breaking of a bad habit" (p. 15), which requires (a)

personal commitment to stop old behavior and (b) active endorsement of this resolution leading ultimately to (c) perseverance in efforts to eradicate the habit.

Instructor/trainee resources. Instructors can use this section for at least two purposes: (a) to show that, while stereotypes tend to resist change, research does suggest that change is possible; and relatedly, (b) to help trainee transition into the experiential component, which follows.

Experiential Component

The objective of the previous sections was to provide multicultural trainers with a succinct and scientifically sound didactic resource base to impress upon counseling trainees the role of stereotypes in promoting perceptual biases and covert beliefs that involve racial categories. The experiential component now presented is intended to supplement didactic instruction by way of exercises designed to promote self-awareness of prejudicial biases and stereotypes.

The labeling exercise. This training exercise, which takes approximately 1 hour, was recently developed and tested by Goldstein (1997). Its purpose is to convey to participants the multidimensional impact of stereotypes on perceivers as well as targets. Briefly, adhesive labels with different stereotypic trait descriptors such as "uneducated," "lazy," "good at math," "violent, " etc. are randomly assigned and attached to participants' heads or backs. They are then asked to mingle with each other as if they were in a cocktail party, and to discuss a specific topic such as "future goals," with the added instruction to treat each other according to the trait depicted on the label. After about 15-20 minutes of "mingling," a debriefing and discussion session can begin. This is an opportunity for participants to discuss their own behavior and how others treated

them. Participants may then view their labels. Goldstein identifies several issues or themes that instructors can "process" with participants. For example, participants usually notice the ease with which one can find stereotype-confirming information, highlighting the role stereotypes play in selective attention and attribution. Participants may expend a great deal of time trying to disprove or prove a label, or they may otherwise acknowledge the difficulty of ignoring stereotypical treatment. Another theme involves the significance of the exercise for prejudice reduction, including the need to attend to stereotype-disconfirming information.

The Implicit Association Test. Greenwald et al. (1998) developed an "implicit association test" (IAT) designed to measure differential associations of two target concepts with an attribute. For example, when the attribute "pleasant" is presented, participants respond faster by pressing a key that corresponds to the word "flower" than to "insect," a response contingency that is reversed for the attribute "unpleasant." In similar fashion, positive attributes such as "joy" and "peace" are more quickly associated with names considered White (e.g., Chip, Peggy) than with names considered Black (e.g., Jamal, Lashonda); when negative attributes such as "evil" and "hate" are used, participants respond more quickly to Black names than to White names. The IAT, now available via the Internet (Greenwald, Banaji, Nosek, & Bhaskar, 1998), has consistently found unconscious prejudice in 90-95% of people who take it. The authors caution that results from the IAT could be disturbing, especially to individuals who consider themselves "prejudice-free." Instructors teaching in classrooms with multimedia capability can demonstrate the use of the IAT during class, or the test can be assigned for

students to take at their convenience, then discuss the results during the next class session.

Other experiential exercises. Various training exercises have been proposed to correct beliefs and attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities and to counter the negative influences of race-based bias and prejudice in the counseling process. Hulnick (1977), for example, recommended that counselors analyze the factors that make them feel uncomfortable or inhibited in any given cross-cultural counseling situation; effective interaction with clients depends on the extent to which these difficulties are identified and worked through. An awareness group experience proposed by Parker, Bingham, and Fukuyama (1985) was designed to promote group exploration of attitudes, feelings, beliefs, and behaviors toward ethnic minority persons, as well as a group plan to increase each members' contact with ethnically dissimilar people. Beale's (1986) Cross-Cultural Dyadic Encounter is a training exercise designed to facilitate open-ended questions between members of different cultures to stimulate dialogue about culturally relevant information. The Cultural Attitudes Repertory Technique (Fukuyama & Neimeyer, 1985) is yet another approach to elicit personally-held attitudes and beliefs about cross-cultural interaction. Lastly, Mio (1989) recommends pairing up with a culturally different partner to become acquainted with as well as to share culturally-relevant experiences.

Implications for Practice

Like perhaps many other instructors of multicultural counseling courses, I organize my multicultural counseling course as did Brown et al. (1996), that is, one unit or phase for each of the three multicultural competencies (i.e., personal beliefs/attitudes,

cultural knowledge, multicultural skills). Thus, about one third of the semester-long course I teach deals with "beliefs/attitudes" issues, which I further divide into didactic and experiential components, much as this article was organized. The course I teach is required of Master's and doctoral counseling trainees, with a class size of about 15 students. As noted previously, this article does not represent a comprehensive training program and it was not intended to replace existing curricula. Rather, it was intended as a resource for trainers to facilitate the development of the "awareness/beliefs" aspect of multicultural competency in their counseling trainees. Consequently, I envision much flexibility in how trainers may choose to adapt the material in this article to fit their course format and needs.

The training approach described in this article may be of special interest to multicultural counseling instructors looking for a way to address the needs of students who become defensive or resistant to course material (Ponterotto, 1988; Steward et al., 1998 ; Tomlinson-Clarke & Ota Wang, 1999). Tomlinson-Clark and Ota Wang, for example, believe that a didactic approach during the early stages of a course is a good way to prepare students for experiential learning or for class discussion in this topical area. This line of reasoning suggests the present didactic component may yield the best results when presented early in a multicultural course or teaching unit. However, it is also quite possible that presentation of the didactic material late in the course (or unit) may lead trainees to consider the meaningfulness of previous course material—including experiential activities—from a new perspective, leading to a salient or otherwise more lasting impression of the importance diversity issues play in the counseling process.

There are some cautions pertaining to the teaching components described in this paper that need to be raised. The didactic component in this article can take considerable time to implement; it takes me at least two (3-hour) class sessions to cover this material in lecture. Because some of the experiments covered in the didactic component utilize complex methods (e.g., priming procedures), I use overheads and the chalkboard to illustrate them, as I entertain questions from students, which they often raise. The point is that instructors interested in implementing the present didactic component need to consider their time constraints carefully, and some may choose to truncate it or otherwise revise it in order to better fit their needs. Trainers should also prepare for possible counterproductive reactions from their students. "Normalization" of prejudice and bias, for example, may provide comfort to some students, which could then lead to reinforcement of cultural encapsulation, rather than commitment to become less prejudiced or biased. For this reason, I am always careful to clarify that while stereotyping occurring outside of conscious awareness may explain the prevalence of covert prejudicial behaviors in our society, this is no ground for justification. Finally, untoward reactions to one or more of the activities outlined in the experiential component are possible and may require an extended debriefing session or discussion in order to "process" the experience.

Evidence at my disposal of the effectiveness in approaching counselor bias and prejudice from a didactic perspective is at this point anecdotal. For example, I have noted that, in general, students taking my course have been much more willing to participate freely and openly in class discussion and activities since I started infusing my curriculum with the didactic component documented in this article. Also, my teaching

evaluations now contain many positive comments about the helpfulness of the "early lectures on social psychology." Objective methods for evaluating the teaching components articulated in this paper are presented in the following section.

Implications for Research

Pretest-posttest designs can be developed to determine the effectiveness of the teaching approach articulated in this paper, with the didactic component specified as the experimental manipulation. For example, trainee multicultural competence can be measured before and after completion of a multicultural counseling course or teaching unit, with only half the participants (experimental group) exposed to the didactic component offered in this article. Assuming intervention effectiveness, control group trainees can receive the didactic component after the second measurement of cultural competence, which can then be measured a third time (i.e., pre-post-post). Several instruments are available (or can be adapted) for trainees to self-assess multicultural competence: the Cross-Cultural Counseling Inventory-Revised (CCCI-R; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Hernandez, 1991); the Multicultural Awareness Scale—Form B (MCAS:B; Ponterotto, Sanchez, & Magidis, 1991); the Multicultural Counseling Inventory (MCI; Sodowsky, Taffe, Gutkin, & Wise, 1994); and the Multicultural Awareness-Knowledge-and Skills Survey (MAKSS; D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991). Ponterotto, Rieger, Barrett, and Sparks (1994) provide a critical review of these instruments.

Another possibility for testing the effectiveness of the didactic component among White students is to utilize a White Racial Identity (WRI) scale as a dependent measure rather than (or in addition to) a multicultural competence instrument. Brown et al. (1996), for example, concluded that racial identity attitudes among their counseling

trainees, as measure by the White Racial Identity Attitudes Survey (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990), were significantly influenced by cross-cultural training. Other available WRI instruments include the White Racial Consciousness Development Scale (WRCDS; Claney & Parker, 1988; Choney & Rowe, 1994), and the Oklahoma Racial Identity Attitudes Scale- Preliminary Form (ORAS-P; Choney & Behrens, 1996).

At an intuitive level, Blair and Banaji's (1996) findings suggest that the didactic component proposed in this paper would be expected to reduce stereotype priming if it effectively modified or changed perceiver expectations about stereotyped social targets. As noted earlier, Blair and Banaji found that manipulation of perceiver expectations as to whether target attributes were consistent or inconsistent with a stereotype led to a significant reduction of stereotype priming. Specifically, participants led to expect stereotype-congruent stimuli had shorter reaction times to the stimuli (priming effect facilitation) compared to participants led to expect stereotype-incongruent stimuli. This outcome led Blair and Banaji to conclude that stereotype activation may be conditional, and that social category cues are not always associated with priming effects. In their concluding comments, these authors encouraged more research to shed light on specific conditions or strategies that offset the influence of stereotypes on perceptions and behaviors.

Would didactic information about stereotypes and perceptual biases delivered in a convincing manner effectively eliminate or at least lessen the automatic effects of stereotypes? If it does, is this effect always mediated by changes in perceiver expectations, or does it represent a transformation in how stereotypes are represented mentally? The point is that future research seeking answers to these questions can go

beyond multicultural training program evaluation, as these answers may further contribute to our general understanding of how stereotyping effects can be actively decreased or neutralized.

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Footnote

1. Elementary school teacher Jane Elliot developed a unique classroom experience to help her students understand discrimination (Peters, 1971). On the first day of the experiment, Elliot announced that brown-eyed children were to sit in the back of the classroom, and that they could not use the drinking fountain. Blue-eyed children were given extra recess time and got to leave for lunch first. Mixing of brown-eyed and blue-eyed children was prevented, and the latter were told they were cleaner and smarter. Elliot also made an effort to constantly criticize and belittle the brown-eyed children. To her surprise, the blue-eyed children joined in, and soon were outdoing her in the viciousness of their attacks. Test scores for brown-eyed children fell. These effects, however, were short-lived. Two days later the roles of the children were reversed, and the same destructive effects occurred again, but this time in reverse.

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Stereotypes affect meaning of behavior. Violent push is activated more strongly in the network on the left than in the network on the right. From Kunda and Thagard's (1996) "Forming Impressions from Stereotypes, Traits, and Behaviors: A Parallel-Constraint-Satisfaction Theory. Copyright 1996 by APA. Reprinted by permission of APA.